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Fear: It Kills!

A Collection of Papers for Law Enforcement Survival

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**International Association of
Chiefs of Police**

Fear: It Kills!

**A Collection of Papers for
Law Enforcement Survival**

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Introduction

The knowledge of fear and how it affects all persons — as well as knowing that fear actually can be a resource and strength to the threatened officer — is, in and of itself, a solution to fear.

Think of a natural fear we all have: the fear of falling. If we stand on a narrow curb six inches above street level, we have no difficulty maintaining our equilibrium. We can even walk the narrow curb with ease and still keep a steady, unwavering balance. We are at ease internally, thus physically capable of accomplishing the simple act of walking the curb. Suddenly the curb rises 100 feet into the air! We become aware that we are standing on the same curb, but we are no longer at ease. We are truly terrified, and it is probable that we would waiver, tremble, lose our balance, and fall.

Steel workers walk the beams of a high-rise building under construction and are totally at ease doing so. We know they were not born to do this; they have an instinctive fear of falling. Training and repetition created an ability for the steel worker to do his job under circumstances that are still life-threatening, but the fear is controlled and used as a resource. The fear is now directed to an awareness of the threat and initiates a response based upon careful movements, constant observation of foot placement and wind factors, adherence to safety techniques that were learned, and reliance upon equipment.

No doubt, many persons considering becoming steel workers have decided that the high wages and satisfaction of doing this type of unusual work were not worth coping with the instinctive fears of heights and falling. And, no doubt, many decided to become steel workers and discovered they could not overcome the problem of fear, so they chose other careers. The apprentice steel worker had to make that decision early because he had to walk the beams everyday.

The law enforcement officer who walks the curb at its daily 6-inch height can't measure his emotional suitability as early or as often as the steel worker. When the curb rises 100 feet into the air, and he knows that he isn't suited for the job, he may not leave. He may hope the curb never rises again; it will. When the curb rises, the

police officer must have the skills, the reactions, the emotional training, the confidence, and the total understanding of the situation to deal with it properly.

At other times, however, the question may be this: Is the curb really 100 feet in the air or does it just *seem* so? Some fears are not real and can cause the officer to fall from the curb when it is only six inches off the ground.

Law enforcement has changed dramatically over the years in being open and responsive to the citizens it serves, especially in this critical area of the recognition and discussion of fear. This collection of papers and the foundation for its development, the Deadly Force Training Program's module on fear, was made possible through funding by the Bureau of Justice Assistance of the Department of Justice. The BJA and the International Association of Chiefs of Police conducted ten deadly force training workshops to 673 law enforcement members of every rank, from field officer to chiefs of police. The workshops were held in all four sections of the United States. The entire total of 673 rated the topic of fear as the best portion of the program. Not a single participant criticized the "Fear" block of instruction. This is, of course, a very strong indication that law enforcement officers will willingly and enthusiastically discuss the subject of fear and try to improve the law enforcement reaction and response to fear.

The concept of developing the training module on fear was suggested by Mr. Robert Lamb, a former police officer from the Atlantic City Police Department, and the director of the Seattle, Washington, office of the U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service. Mr. Lamb, an advisory board member of the BJA/IACP Deadly Force Training Program, was sure it was the right thing to do. He was right.

Any questions or comments regarding this publication may be addressed to Ron McCarthy, Director, Deadly Force Training Program, c/o IACP, 1110 North Glebe Road, Suite 200, Arlington, VA 22201; 703/243-6500.

- Ron McCarthy

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Their guidance in the development of the Deadly Force Training Program is greatly appreciated.

Phase I of the Deadly Force Training Program, which trained 340 police executives in the development and implementation of policy, and Phase II, which trained 673 law enforcement officers of all supervisory ranks, were the foundation for the development of *FEAR: IT KILLS!* This innovative approach would not have been possible without the enthusiastic support and encouragement of the Bureau of Justice Assistance program manager, Fred W. Becker, who was not afraid to break new ground.

Comments from Trainees Attending the Fear Module of Instruction of the Deadly Force Training Program:

"The section on fear is excellent. This is the first time in over 18 years that I heard the topic addressed and it is so important to understand its role in police work."

"It is a program that my supervisors or members of our research and development should attend...They need to look at these issues."

"One of the best programs I have attended...I think officers should know what happens psychologically during critical incidents and fear so that they can plan and handle these situations better."

"Add Fear into training of recruits and in-service."

"Dynamics of fear should be taught to all hands."

"How to recognize fear is something that every officer should be familiar with...This is good information to help officers in keeping themselves together emotionally."

"I would recommend this program to city council members...to those with 5 years experience or more."

"More supervisors should be trained in this. Every P.O. or head of any department needs this information."

"It opens your eyes to things you had never thought of."

"I learned how to handle the second guessing I still sometimes experience to this day regarding a shooting in which my partner was killed. The subject of fear needs to be recognized and addressed in police academies and in-service training."

"This is a solid base of information to develop training from."

"This concept of fear must be incorporated into our training."

"This is a contemporary topic which concerns law enforcement everywhere and is necessary to modernize attitudes. The fear concept was excellent and should definitely be pursued for further instruction."

"Excellent evaluation of psychology of fear."

"This information will save lives."

Part 1

The Dynamics of Fear in Critical Incidents: Training Implications

Roger M. Solomon, Ph.D
Department Psychologist
Washington State Patrol

Every law enforcement officer has to learn to cope with fear and vulnerability, and usually has to do so alone. For many officers, talking about fear or feelings of vulnerability is taboo because it goes against the law enforcement image. It is crucial law enforcement personnel know how to deal with these feelings since coming face to face with one's sense of vulnerability — the nuts and bolts of critical incident trauma — is an occupational hazard. Unfortunately, very little has been written for police officers on coping with fear. This paper is an attempt to fill this gap.

Many police officers wonder what it will be like if they have a life-or-death encounter. "Will I survive? Will I be afraid? How will I react when I am scared?" Many officers deny fear, thinking, "It will never happen to me." For many officers who have been involved in critical incidents, things appeared to have happened automatically and instinctively. They are taught, and correctly so, that they will respond according to their training. While good training is critical to survival, a much more active and complicated mental process is often involved during moments of peak stress that enables the officer to utilize the training for survival.

WHAT IS FEAR?

Fear is an automatic emotional reaction to a perceived danger or threat. It is an alarm response characterized by high negative affect (or emotion) and arousal. When one is scared, one's instinct is to get away. However, law enforcement officers are not allowed to

act on this instinct. It is their role to respond to the danger. Hence, officers must be knowledgeable about fear, how it works, and how to deal with it.

Fear can be very useful. It cues us to stay alert and to mobilize for action. It is not an emotion to be second-guessed or criticized, as so many officers do to each other because they do not consider experiencing fear to be "macho". Fear is an automatic reaction and is beyond our control. It can, however, be focused. Moreover, it can be an important cue to action. We can still function, think, and process information under conditions of fear (Bandura, 1986).

Fear is *not* panic. Panic occurs when one is overwhelmed by fear and responds by basic instinct — flight, fight, freeze (Barlow, 1988). Fear can mobilize great strength, the tremendous response power of our basic instinct to survive. Hence, fear can help us.

During moments of peak stress, one's mind and body rapidly mobilize for action. This is the "alarm" or "fight-or-flight" reaction. The heart rate and blood pressure increase. Sugar is released into the bloodstream for energy. Acid flows into the stomach to get out the nutrients. Blood clotting enzymes flow into the system to minimize damage from wounds. More blood goes to the muscles and muscle tone increases. Capillaries close down and more blood goes to the internal organs to nourish them. The part of the brain responsible for conscious control of the muscles gets priority. Vision and hearing become more acute. Very quickly the body focuses all of its resources on enduring threats against its survival.

The adrenaline flow and the other chemical changes occurring during moments of peak stress often cause perceptual distortions that help survival. One may experience slow motion, perhaps due to one's thoughts speeding many times faster than usual, so that it seems time has slowed. This ability to think and plan faster enables one to have more control over the threatening environment. In some cases, time speeds up and one perceives everything occurring faster than usual, including one's actions.

One may experience auditory distortions. Sounds may diminish and one may not hear loud noises, such as gun shots, that normally would disrupt one's concentration. For others, sounds are louder, enabling a finer tuning in to the danger.

Visual distortions occur that can help us. One may experience tunnel vision: an intense, focused concentration, usually on what is perceived to be the danger, with little or no attention paid to peripheral vision. Also one may perceive more visual details with greater clarity than usual.

These perceptual distortions, normal and common during a critical incident, can help us survive. However, there are some costs to perceptual distortions. Due to tunnel vision, an officer may not perceive details, such as other threats, that are on the periphery. Later, an officer may be able to recall or describe only those aspects of the situation that were focused upon and, therefore, be an unreliable witness for other factors of the situation. An officer may not be able to give an accurate description of the time that transpired due to time distortion. Because of auditory distortion, he may not hear important details, such as how many shots were fired. It is important that investigators realize perceptual distortions are normal and occur automatically and unconsciously under peak stress conditions.

What are other psychological processes an officer goes through, when coming face to face with his sense of vulnerability, that enable successful responding? The following description is what hundreds of law enforcement officers who have survived critical encounters have reported about how fear works when an individual's life is perceived to be on the line. There are some limitations to this explanation that should be kept in mind. First of all, the following discussion of a critical incident is an attempt to describe what takes place in split seconds. It is a *model* of reality and not reality itself; yet it is hoped such a model will facilitate understanding of how fear works during a critical incident. Second, one should also keep in mind that everyone is different and experiences critical incidents in individual ways. Some of the phases and concepts may apply to one person but not to another. Further, the discussion of concepts

relating to one's perception of vulnerability (for example, type of incident, duration, degree of warning, extent of control, previous experience) are beyond the scope of this paper. Lastly, the following model is most applicable to intense situations of short duration that require action. However, it must be realized that a mental process, such as a decision, can be an action taken to respond to a situation.

Understanding the psychological processes involved in a critical incident is more than an academic exercise, for it provides definite guidelines for training and preparation for critical encounters.

DYNAMICS OF FEAR

For purposes of discussion, a critical situation will be broken down into six phases:

I. "Here Comes Trouble"

At first, an officer, after perceiving that a situation is starting to escalate, realizes the potential for threat. He becomes alert, physically mobilized (that is, he experiences the "alarm" reaction), and begins to focus his attention on the danger. Sometimes an officer is thrust into a situation with no warning, and the process begins with the next phase.

The next phase begins as the officer focuses on the threat and perceives that the danger is potentially life-threatening. This phase is universally described by emergency workers in much the same way all over this country as, "Oh, shit!"

II. Vulnerability Awareness

At this point, an individual comes face to face with awareness of his vulnerability and/or lack of control over the situation. He may experience a sense of shock and arousal, startle and surprise, disbelief and dread, and feelings of weakness and helplessness. He may have thoughts akin to, "Oh, my God...This can't be happen-

ing...This is not supposed to happen...I (or someone else) may be seriously injured or killed...I don't know if I can handle this...I'm not in control here." This is the essence of fear.

A general principle of human functioning operates at this point. When a person's focus is solely on danger and how vulnerable he is, he tends to feel weak and helpless (Bandura, 1986). He feels he has little control over the situation. This is a critical phase. Fear, or *vulnerability awareness*, may triumph and control the officer's responses. Or fear may cue survival responses.

For some officers, vulnerability awareness immediately leads to focusing on what they have to do to survive or gain control of the situation. This is especially true for the officer who has prepared for what can happen and what to do if it does happen. This officer immediately goes to the fourth, *survival*, and starts focusing on the danger in terms of his capability to respond.

But sometimes the officer runs into situations he does not expect or never anticipated. Or the perception of vulnerability and lack of control is particularly overwhelming. But if his awareness remains focused on his vulnerability, further intensification of arousal, fear, and distracting thoughts can occur, disrupting his ability to respond to the danger (Barlow, 1988). Similarly, if his attention remains focused on the physiological arousal, greater subjective intensity of the emotional experience may occur. Panic and mindless fight, flight, or freezing can result. In order to move beyond this emotional impasse, the officer must go through a transition phase that gets him focused on his response to the situation and on survival.

After vulnerability awareness, when the officer is aware of vulnerability and/or lack of control, he has to comprehend and make sense of what is happening and acknowledge the reality of what is taking place. He has to focus away from an internal awareness of vulnerability, with its consequent negative emotional arousal, to the external reality of the threat. He realizes something has to be done if he is going to survive and meet the challenge of the situation. The following phase may then occur:

III. "I've Got To Do Something"

The reality of the threat is acknowledged. There is no longer the shock, disbelief, and denial of what is happening. As one officer put it after saying, "Oh, shit!" when he saw a gun pointed at him: "It really is happening, and I've got to respond."

Another officer was shot in the shoulder. After thinking, "Oh, my God, I'm shot!" and experiencing a moment of shock and disbelief, he said to himself, "I am shot. Now what am I going to do so I don't get shot again?" He crawled to cover, drew his weapon and returned fire.

Some officers go through this refocusing phase; that is, they shift their attention from their internal awareness of vulnerability to an assessment of what is happening externally and what they are facing. No longer are they denying the threat of the situation. Tuning in to the external reality, instead of dwelling on the potentially overwhelming feelings of helplessness and fear, is necessary if one is to move from an emotional impasse to effective cognitive and physical action. Acknowledging the reality of the threat is the transition from shock and startle to mobilization for survival. Such a transition enables thinking to focus on responding, instead of helplessness.

Some officers have described a feeling of detachment during these moments. It is as if the situation is not real, even though they know it is happening. They have the experience of being on the "inside" looking out, or "watching" themselves in the situation. This detachment is an automatic psychological defense mechanism that dampens the feelings of shock and vulnerability; allows overwhelming feelings to be distanced; and can facilitate functioning during a crisis. This disassociation of emotions is characteristic of some people, but not of others; it is an automatic response that cannot be taught. Officers who react in this way need to know that it is normal in peak stress situations, and they are not going "crazy."

Many officers have thoughts that motivate the will to survive and propel them toward tactical thinking and action. For example,

some officers get in touch strongly with how much they want to live. Other officers feel how much they want to see their families again. Some officers become quite angry (and survival will mobilizes) as they decide they are not going to let anyone take their (or someone else's) lives or take them away from their kids. For other officers, the thought is, "How dare you do this to me!" Indeed, anger serves to mobilize one for "fight." As with fear, anger can be an overwhelming emotion that disrupts behavior or it can be focused to aid survival.

It is amazing what thoughts someone can have during these moments. One officer who was shot immediately flashed on a childhood situation where he was struck out during a baseball game, without taking a swing. He recalled his father telling him that if he were to strike out, then to go down swinging. The officer then decided to "swing," and managed to return fire and kill his assailant.

As an officer realizes something has to be done if he is to meet the challenge of the situation and survive, he enters the next phase: *survival*.

IV. Survival

The officer starts thinking about what has to be done to gain control of the situation — what he can do to survive. Commonly, officers describe that their previous training automatically comes to mind. Some officers think through several courses of action; others just find themselves responding. Such automatic responding is particularly displayed by officers who have used mental rehearsal techniques to prepare themselves for life-threatening situations.

A person's perspective changes as he focuses on his response to the situation. Whereas in the vulnerability awareness phase an officer perceives the danger in terms of his vulnerability, in the survival phase he starts looking at the danger in terms of his capability to respond to it, and begins thinking about what to do. These thoughts can be quite rapid. (Remember, thoughts speed up during moments of peak stress.) The actions and options he thinks about in less than a second can take minutes to articulate verbally, given the slower speed of speech. Usually at this moment, feelings of

dread and helplessness change. As the officer sees and thinks about the danger in terms of his capability to respond to it, he feels more balanced and in control.

Another important principle of human functioning is occurring here. When the officer views the danger or threat in terms of his capability to respond to it, feelings of dread and helplessness decrease, enabling him to cope and respond (Bandura, 1986; Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). He feels more in control and is better able to maintain an external focus on dealing with the situation.

During the survival phase, officers typically have a keen focus on what is happening externally. Quite often the officer is experiencing tunnel vision, focusing solely on what he perceives to be the threat. There is an intense tracking of the threat and, often, continued reality checks as the officer affirms what is happening (e.g., "It really is a gun"); stays attentively attuned to what the suspect is doing now (e.g., "He is not dropping it"); looks at his field of fire; decides on the target; anticipates options and their consequences; and so on, all in the flash of a second or less. Indeed, an external focus is vital to survival, as an inward focus on an officer's sense of vulnerability can escalate arousal and interfere with his ability to respond.

Many an officer describes a "moment of resolve" that comes once he commits himself to a course of action and starts to do it. As one officer said when he committed himself to action (an apt description of the next phase): "*Here goes!*"

V. "Here Goes!"

The officer starts his response, or finds himself instinctively responding, with resolve. This is an extremely strong moment — the moment between realizing what he has to do and committing to it, and starting to do it, sometimes instinctively. This is the moment of survival, and the officer goes into a very strong, powerful frame of mind. Officers describe a sense of strength. There is also a feeling of control over this strength: Though adrenaline is flowing and the officer's body is mobilized and aroused, he is in control of his

movements. Some officers describe a sense of calm strength once they committed themselves to action and started to initiate it. Though thoughts may be racing, they tend to be clear and lucid. There is often a sense of heightened awareness, and a feeling that one is not going to over- or underreact — he will just react.

Many officers also have a sense of confidence at this moment. This is the *survival resource* frame of mind (Solomon, 1988). In other words, focusing on the capability to respond, rather than on feelings of vulnerability, leads to power. The resolve to respond when experiencing fear leads to tremendous strength. Fear can be utilized to get strong.

However, in many cases, an officer may experience no conscious awareness of the survival strength he possesses. He is aware only of his fear and later recalls how vulnerable he felt when responding. It is often later, upon deep reflection of the incident, when he tunes in to the part of him that enabled him to respond, that the officer realizes how much in control and how strong he felt at this moment.

Once the officer has consciously or instinctively come up with a response that he has resolved to do and start to implement, he enters the sixth phase:

VI. Response

The officer does it — and *survives*. One may be experiencing fear, but can still stay focused on his tactics and actions.

LIMITS TO THE MODEL

There are limitations to the model. The model is an attempt to understand the diverse processes that occur within seconds and is artificial at best. Further, quite often an officer does not go through a conscious decision-making process during the incident — he just finds himself responding. Hence, some of the phases described above may not be applicable to every situation. For example, a person may

go from "Here comes trouble" or vulnerability awareness to response with no conscious thought.

The model is most applicable to situations of short duration where action is possible to affect the outcome. The model may not be descriptive of long, drawn-out incidents or situations where one's actions may not affect the outcome (for example, disaster incidents with all victims killed, sudden emotional loss).

The above model is a linear description of the best case scenario. However, this scenario can be deflected into a loop of frustration, futility, and disruption, and a re-looping to vulnerability awareness at any of several points (see next page for a graphic representation).

An officer might see later, only with hindsight, the cues that spelled "Here comes trouble." As a result, he finds himself thrust immediately into the vulnerability awareness phase. Or he may have wrongly perceived the threat that caused the vulnerability awareness. For example, the officer believing an individual is armed may mistake the "glint of metal" to be a weapon when, in reality, it was keys.

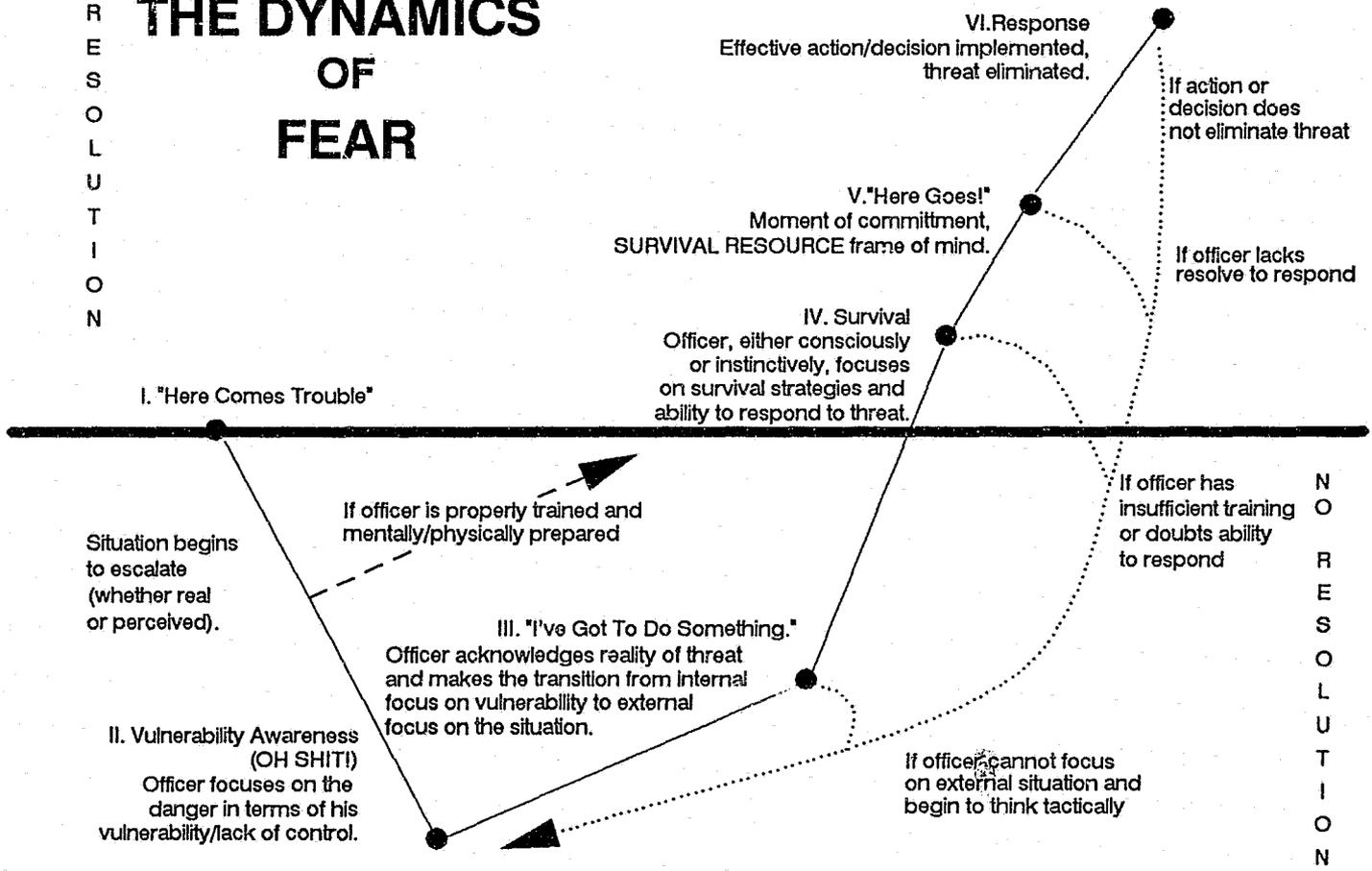
In the vulnerability phase, an officer can easily become so fixated on the internal feeling of vulnerability and focused on fears of his annihilation that he is unable to make the shift to the external world. Consequently, he is unable to plan any actions. This may be considered an "internal tunnel vision" phenomenon, insofar as the officer is aware only of his feelings of fear and helplessness, and is unable to "see" his strengths and resources.

The "I've got to do something" phase is a source of particular difficulty for officers when there is nothing obvious to do, such as when someone is dying despite the best efforts to save them by first aid. Or, it is obvious what to do, but one does not have the equipment, knowledge, or control to follow through. In such a case, the officer may fixate on an unattainable goal, leading to frantic, unproductive, or even counterproductive behavior. For example, at a multi-casualty disaster site, an officer may run frantically from

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person to person, rather than lending his attention to a single person he could help. Under such circumstances, the officer must be prepared for a fall-back position; that is, when he recognizes that the best possible choice is not an option available to him, he must ask, "What else can I do?" If he has not developed a fall-back position, he may endlessly loop back, trying to effect the most desired action, even with the knowledge that it is not possible. This loop ultimately produces frustration and vulnerability awareness; he is frustrated by his inability to perform the action that is desirable, and this inability makes him aware of his vulnerability. He may then attempt to solve the problem in the same way, determine that it is not possible, become frightened, and so on.

The survival phase, where the officer plans his response, often requires the individual to coordinate two or more actions simultaneously or in a particular sequence. If the officer becomes fixated on a particular part of a multi-state action, he may overlook other parts with disastrous consequences.

The "Here goes!" phase can be disrupted if one has made a poor choice of options. For example, an officer might attempt to overpower an unarmed man in the individual's kitchen while not having attended properly to the weapons available in the nearby knife rack.

Keep in mind that this description of the phases is only a model of reality — not reality itself — for purposes of discussion. However, some general principles can be gleaned about survival from this model that have important implications for dealing with fear and vulnerability before, during, and even after a critical incident when the emotional impact hits.

COPING WITH FEAR

The above framework gives us a model of how to cope with fear. Every officer should have ingrained in his guts that when he focuses solely on the danger or threat in terms of how vulnerable he is, he may feel weak, helpless, and out of control. When he focuses on

his ability to respond to the danger, he will feel more balanced and in control. Of course, the officer must have the training and knowledge about how and when to respond.

One can understand panic as experiencing fear but keeping focused on vulnerable thoughts and emotions. Staying in such a focus, where one's attention narrows on the arousal and strong emotions associated with vulnerability, can lead to further intensification of arousal. This creates a vicious cycle of escalating fear that disrupts concentration and performance. One then only has basic instinct — fight, flight, or freeze — to rely on. One can break this escalating cycle by focusing externally on what is happening and the action one needs to take.

Fear can overwhelm an officer's ability to function if he stays focused solely on the threatening aspects of the situation (his vulnerability); yet fear can also empower the officer when (1) his attention is focused fully and completely on what he has to do and (2) he has the knowledge of tactics for implementation.

Knowing one has the ability to respond to critical encounters is vital for optimal functioning. Competent functioning requires not only skills but trust in one's own ability to perform them — that is, belief in one's efficacy (Bandura, 1986). Lack of trust in one's ability to respond undermines effective use of the competencies one possesses. Research has shown that people who have a strong sense of efficacy focus their attentions and efforts more easily on the demands of the situations, and meet obstacles with greater effort than people with low self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986). The stronger one's sense of efficacy, the less disabling the vulnerability awareness phase will be, the easier it will be to move to the survival phase, grab hold of the survival resource, and persevere. Several steps can be taken to enhance one's sense of efficacy and prepare for high-level functioning and coping during moments of peak stress:

(1) *Learn survival and emergency tactics well.*

The more tactics and responses an officer knows, the easier it will be for him to cope with fear. The more tactics he knows well to the point of competence and confidence, the

more he will be capable of focusing on his ability to respond. Obviously an officer needs to practice physically a variety of tactics and techniques in order to learn them well enough so that they are reflexive and second nature. But even the technique that is learned perfectly is useless unless the officer knows when and in what context to use it.

(2) *Utilize mental rehearsal techniques.*

Visualizing a dangerous or threatening situation and how he will respond to it can help the police officer learn tactics to the point where they are reflexive and automatic. He should not only visualize the variety of situations that can occur but also rehearse several responses to the same situation, thereby building flexibility to his responding. Mental rehearsal can help inoculate against shock if one makes the situations rehearsed as realistic as possible. The officer should imagine what it will feel like when the situation is occurring. It can be difficult to cope with the anxiety generated by a realistic rehearsal. But it is critical that the officer rehearse as vividly as possible if the full "inoculation" effect of rehearsal is to be obtained. Remember, mental rehearsal is a supplemental aid to physical practice; it is not a substitute.

(3) *Understand the psychological and physical effects of fear.*

An officer should be knowledgeable about coping with vulnerability, be prepared for perceptual distortions, understand the basis for physiological arousal, and what physical phenomena (such as "alarm" reactions) occur when fear is experienced. Unexplained arousal is aversive: It can lead to more anxiety and arousal and further threaten the officer's sense of control (Barlow, 1988). Knowing what to expect and understand what is happening can help one cope with fear and feel more in control.

Furthermore, officers must realize that it is normal and natural to experience fear. Vulnerability is part of the human condition. The denial of vulnerability can lead to a greater post-traumatic reaction than vulnerability acceptance and awareness.

- (4) *Acknowledge the reality of what can happen now.*
Anticipating what can happen and what it will be like can take away some of the shock and startle value of a critical incident. The more quickly an officer can acknowledge the reality of a situation during moments of peak stress, the more quickly he can start to mobilize himself to action.
- (5) *Think about the will to survive NOW.*
It is crucial that the resolve to survive is planted firmly in one's head and heart. The tremendous strength of the survival resource that comes with the resolve to take action can save an officer's life against overwhelming odds.
- (6) *Utilize fear to become strong.*
Focusing on one's ability to respond mobilizes the survival resource, which is the feeling of controlled strength and clarity of mind that accompanies -- and perhaps facilitates -- responding under critical conditions. Research has suggested that the survival resource is an optimal frame of mind for responding to a critical incident (Solomon, 1988). One can build this frame of mind into mental rehearsals. Recall the survival resource as vividly as possible, what a moment of "Here goes!" was like, and fully focus on the strongest moments. Research (Solomon, 1988) has suggested that utilizing the survival resource frame of mind in mental rehearsals can enhance performance in future situations.
- (7) *Have a mental library of past successes.*
Officers should not take successful responding for granted. Thinking about one's successes enhances one's sense of efficacy.

CONCLUSION

Survivors come to realize that one is vulnerable; that is part of the human condition. But one is not helpless: One has the ability and capability to respond. One cannot always control a situation, but

one can control one's response to the situation. Such a frame of mind is vital for the officer who faces the possibility of a critical incident.

Ultimately, one can learn and grow a great deal from a critical incident. Indeed, after coming to grips with one's sense of vulnerability, there is not a whole lot else in life to overcome.

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Part 2

The Dynamics of Police-Related Fears: Reasonable and Unreasonable Fear

**Ron McCarthy, Director
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We are told that fear is an automatic emotional reaction to perceived danger. The key word here is *perceived*. What is perceived is not always reality. Law enforcement officers can be affected by many influences that may establish one or more fears with no legitimate basis in fact. The individual officer who is suffering uncontrolled fear is a hazard to himself, to citizens in the immediate vicinity, and to suspects who may be subject to arrest but not to the use of deadly force.

Law enforcement officers must have the opportunity to understand all aspects of fear because this emotion can influence an officer's ability to function under stressful conditions. Fear that is well-founded and justified by a life-threatening crisis can overwhelm an officer to the point where he may respond improperly and perhaps cost the officer, or an innocent citizen, his life.

Fear that is not justified creates the same emotional reaction to perceived danger and will generate a negative response simply because the reaction to what is happening is not justified; that is, (1) the threat is not real, and (2) a reasonable, thinking officer would not perceive a threat when confronted with the same situation. A situation cannot be used as a test by itself, because a situation can occur where the threat is not real, but the officer is well-justified in using deadly force. For example, a robber points a gun at the officer, and the gun is actually a toy; if the officer has no way of knowing it is a toy, he should not be criticized for perceiving what any reasonable person would see as a threat.

REASONABLE FEAR

Reasonable fear is common to all law enforcement officers and can be triggered by any one of the many stimulators of fear we know occur regularly. Some causes of reasonable fear are

- Searching a dark building or area for a suspect;
- A face-to-face confrontation with a violent mentally ill suspect;
- A confrontation with several persons who appear to be uncooperative and aggressive;
- High-speed pursuits;
- Loud, unexpected noises at times of stress;
- A face-to-face confrontation with a potential suspect much larger than the officer; and
- Facing an armed suspect who is attempting to kill the officer.

We know our body can very quickly mobilize response, and our minds can focus on the threat. *How* we react to this threat is the critical issue when fear is reasonable. When fear is not reasonable

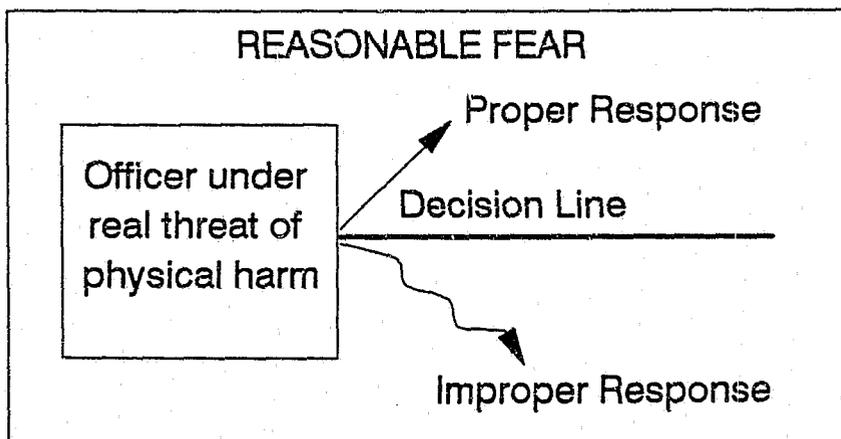


Figure 1. A real threat is still no guarantee of proper response, but proper training and preparation ensures a likelihood of proper response.

but generated by stimulators that are inappropriate, *any* level of force is probably not justified. Reasonable fear, however, is fear that is appropriate to the situation. The officer's reaction to reasonable fear is the only real issue when the situation is a valid threat to the safety of the officer and/or others. (See Figure 1.)

When reasonable fear is triggered, the goal to strive for is trained, intended response consistent with law, policy, and ethics. Yet when the officer is reacting to an *unreasonable fear*, he perceives danger where there is none; any force used in this case can be the beginning of the end for all involved, including the officer.

UNREASONABLE FEAR

The realization that police officers can be victimized by false fears is not new. It has been discussed for years as a matter of fact. The law enforcement profession, recognizing that some officers on infrequent occasions use deadly force without proper provocation, regularly disciplines officers for violations of use of force/deadly force policy. However, the policing community has overlooked the need to discuss openly the issue of unreasonable fear and to identify the *reasons why* officers use inappropriate levels of force, including deadly force.

Unreasonable fear is any fear generated in the officer's mind that has no direct correlation with the facts or the situation at hand. The stimulators of unreasonable fear are many and varied, but the ultimate result of reaction to unreasonable fear is always the same: *unauthorized use of force*. (See Figure 2.) Once the response to unreasonable fear has happened, it is virtually certain that other serious acts of misconduct will follow. The officer who has reacted to a situation based upon unreasonable fear will use force that is not justified. Almost immediately he realizes that his actions were not appropriate, and another type of fear sets in, also unreasonable by definition. Fearful of the loss of his reputation, job, and position in his community and among his peers, the officer will often be tempted to lie about the circumstances to justify the level of force he was driven to use out of unreasonable fear. This path the officer

has chosen is obviously an ill-advised one, and has continually led to disastrous results for all concerned. In an effort to justify unreasonable force based upon unreasonable fear, the officer employs false arrest and imprisonment, false police reports, and perjury as the tools to dig a hole where he is ultimately buried. Unfortunately, the officer's peers, the agency, and law enforcement in general suffer the stigma resulting from such an occurrence.

Unreasonable fear that provokes an unreasonable response from a police officer, as well as his use of force that is inconsistent

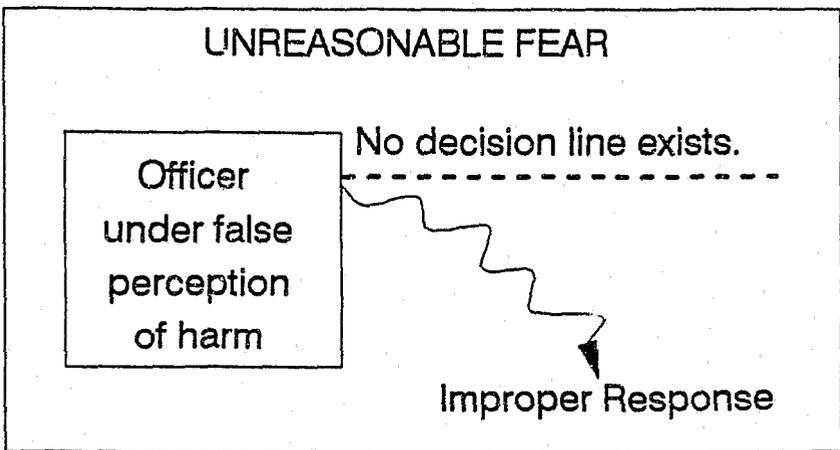


Figure 2. No decision line exists because any response involving force against no threat is an improper response.

with a real threat, is probably cause for department discipline and civil liability; however, these responses are most likely *not* causes for criminal action since there is no specific intent on the part of the officer to commit a crime. On the other hand, if the officer chooses to lie, falsify reports, and perjure himself, he is now a criminal and will be prosecuted.

TYPES OF UNREASONABLE FEAR

There are several fears, part of an officer's psychological and emotional baggage, that can be categorized as unreasonable fears. These come in a variety of types, but all have one common denominator: they will cause an officer to respond improperly. The identified fears that can plague police officers are

- Racial fear,
- Cultural fear,
- Fear of physical harm,
- Fear of doing harm,
- Psychological fear,
- Positional fear, and
- Fear of peer disapproval.

An examination of each of these categories of fear is necessary because it provides the opportunity to (1) discuss openly the problem of fear and understand it; (2) establish a strategy to identify officers who can fall victim to one or more of these unreasonable fears; and (3) develop positive proactive approaches to address the problem and solve it before tragedy occurs.

Racial Fear

Racial fear is, along with cultural fear, one of the most difficult to discuss because of the extreme emotional factors involved, the defensive posture taken by many officers in discussing this subject, and the siege mentality the police are often criticized for projecting whenever this topic is broached. It must be stated here that police are often criticized unfairly and unjustifiably by those who are suspicious of law enforcement actions in deadly force incidents, and a natural reaction to this is to resist criticism in any form.

Racial fear is usually thought of in the context of a white police officer assigned in a neighborhood predominantly inhabited

by a race of people other than white, more probably a black neighborhood. Racial fear is obviously an unreasonable fear as it is the product of

- Prejudice;
- Rumor;
- Little or no personal contact with a particular racial group, thereby fearing what we don't understand;
- A natural inclination to gravitate to one's own kind; and
- A feeling of loss of position or power — politically, or personally.

The law enforcement officer who suffers this form of unreasonable fear is performing an emotional high-wire act every time he goes into the field. The extreme degree of paranoia that exists as a result of the constant fear that overpowers the officer is a strong level of stress to deal with on a daily basis. Obviously if a law enforcement officer is continually afraid of his surroundings the stress level will build, often causing the officer to exhibit signs that a problem is present. These signs or symptoms can manifest themselves through the law enforcement officer's acting out a "super cop" on-duty personality, wherein he is overly officious, swaggering, unnecessarily loud, and overreactive to movements or circumstances that do not disturb other capable officers.

Fear can create anger, the catalyst for improper conduct by the officer. The average law enforcement officer, who does not have this problem, can perform a vital service for his agency, the community, and the disturbed officer by recognizing the danger signals and taking appropriate steps to help the officer before it is too late.

Another signal that an officer is having problems is his becoming an "equipment nerd." The fear level causes the officer to buy and carry all types of police control devices, most having to do with pain, and often the apparatus is not authorized by his agency. Unauthorized equipment that officers fall back on for feelings of security is another symptom of a problem. An example of frequent-

ly abused "unauthorized" equipment is ammunition that has been hand-loaded to achieve excessively high velocities. When suffering under intense stress, the officer may go to the extreme of carrying illegal items, such as a "throw-down Saturday night special" with the serial number removed.

Law enforcement officers know this kind of activity is rare, yet they also have heard of those who have done these or similar acts of misconduct. These incidents will reoccur if officers who are unreasonably insecure and threatened by their surroundings are allowed to continue on a path of progressive paranoia.

An officer may also exhibit the beginning of a problem with racial fear by doing petty, rather than significant, police work. This occurs because the officer is angry at the community for "scaring or threatening" him. Fear creates a reaction, often anger, which manifests itself by the officer's performing petty police work which is a way of getting even with, or belittling, the people who, he believes, endanger him.

An officer who is popular with others off duty, and is accepted socially by his peers, can still be the target of on-duty avoidance by these same colleagues who appreciate his off-duty personality. When off duty, the officer is a good person; on duty, he creates problems, threatens stability in field situations, and is observed by his peers as a ticking time bomb waiting to explode. His peers on the department do not want the trouble they think this officer may generate, and therefore do not want to see or work with him in a tactical situation because they are actually afraid of what he may do. An alert first-line supervisor may spot this and take positive steps to solve a dangerous problem.

One of the most often recognized symptoms of an officer's problem with racial fear is the frequency with which he is the subject of citizens' personnel complaints of rudeness or excessive force. Most experienced law enforcement supervisors know that there is no correlation between high numbers of personnel complaints and a hardworking, productive police officer.

Cultural Fear

An officer experiencing cultural fear differs from one with racial fear mainly in that he can belong to the same ethnic group as the community where he works and feels threatened. A black officer who has been reared in a middle class, quiet, low-crime area can be just as intimidated by dissimilar social attitudes and community factors as an officer suffering racial fear. In fact, the symptoms the two different officers might exhibit are much the same.

Several conditions can create cultural fear:

- The officer has a lack of exposure to the community's culture.
- The community mannerisms threaten the officer's value system.
- An officer feels snobbish or resentful toward the community and the way the residents interact with each other and with the officer. The officer may be threatened by the frequency of crime or by the residents' way of life that is strikingly different from the pattern of life in which the officer grew up.

Often an officer victimized by this type of fear will refer to the particular culture as "those people" or "that jungle" or "those animals." It is worth repeating that the officer may be of the same race as those to whom he refers. He may also be embarrassed to be of the same race as "those people." This creates anger.

Fear of Physical Harm

The fear of physical harm is caused by the perception that one is about to suffer injury or death. Obviously, this type of fear can be classified either as *reasonable fear*, when it is a legitimate reaction to a real threat, or as *unreasonable fear* when, once the circumstances are objectively evaluated, the officer has no justification to feel threatened. Racial fear and cultural fear can create a

fear of physical harm. But what about the situation wherein an officer is in his own racial and cultural environment and panics?

Fear of physical harm can be perceived by a white officer in a white neighborhood where the officer grew up and still resides. The occupation of police officer and the potential of being hurt, no matter how unlikely, is ever-present to an extreme degree in some officers' minds. Certainly, a law enforcement officer is at risk occupationally. The degree of fear can be totally inconsistent with the reality; in fact, it can be so strong that law enforcement officers have been observed driving away from "hot" calls or requests for assistance from their fellow officers. Such police officers are absolutely fearful beyond reason and prone to react improperly.

Some symptoms of an overabundance of a fear of physical harm are the "equipment nerd" syndrome; carrying unauthorized equipment; overreaction to minor incidents; excessive and unnecessary backup request; constant requests for assignments to non-field positions; and, as previously mentioned, driving away from a hot call or another officer's request for help.

Fear of Doing Harm

The law enforcement profession has a variety of appeals to those seeking a career. Certainly, public service is one. A career in law enforcement also provides stability and financial security with increasing benefits, salaries, and solid retirement guarantees. When viewed objectively, a career in law enforcement is dangerous in terms of physical assault, but there is little chance that a police officer will be killed. From 1970 through 1972, nearly twice the number of officers were killed per year as is the case in 1988 and 1989. Those who come into law enforcement have no real test to apply to themselves to answer adequately the question often put to them: "If it were necessary, could you take a life to save your own or someone else's life?"

Most law enforcement officers were asked that question, and probably all have asked themselves that question. Presently, no one

really knows how to determine the answer before such an incident confronts him.

Incidents have demonstrated the inability of some officers to use deadly force when it is necessary and justified. Officers have been involved in situations where they have actually *allowed* themselves to be killed by a criminal. In one incident the officer, contrary to his training, provided his own gun to the suspect who then killed another officer at the scene; ordered this officer to his knees; fired a shot pointblank at the officer's head but missed; and finally fired a fatal shot at the officer. During this entire incident, the officer offered no resistance, again in opposition to his training.

Fear of doing harm not only endangers the officer's life, but can prevent that officer from using the reasonable and necessary level of force to protect citizens and other officers from serious bodily injury or death. Too often, the decision to use deadly force is looked upon as a choice that, if not exercised, could impact negatively only on the officer faced with making the decision. Based upon actual field incidents, this is not the case. An officer who can't shoot endangers the lives of others as well as his own.

Fear of doing harm can be instilled in a person through various influences:

- His cultural background,
- Family influence,
- Religious beliefs, and
- His own mental and emotional nature that limits the level of force response to which he will commit.

Several signs can indicate this problem is present:

- Underreaction to physical threats,
- Taking unnecessary chances when faced with a dangerous, armed suspect,
- Lack of normal levels of aggressiveness and command presence.

It is important to note that an officer who may have this problem does not lack personal courage! Officers facing a dangerous suspect who is wielding a shotgun, and actually approach him in an effort to resolve the incident without using deadly force are hardly lacking in courage.

Positional Fear

Positional fear is that fear confronted by law enforcement supervisors and managers. For the purposes of this topic, we are limiting positional fear to field crisis incidents where supervisors and managers respond and, by virtue of their rank, are thrust into the position of the decision maker in a life-and-death situation.

Several factors create major problems for police supervisors and managers in being able to cope with the fear that seizes them when faced with the enormity of a field-crisis situation:

- The agency has no process of selecting crisis managers from the agency's supervisors, so managers are never tested until a crisis occurs.
- The supervisor/manager may lack training.
- The supervisor/manager may not be suited for this type of leadership role; that is, he is
 - (a) emotionally incapable of handling prolonged periods of intense stress.
 - (b) a competent supervisor or manager on a daily basis, but can't make quick assessments, and firm decisions based on those assessments, during a crisis.
- The supervisor/manager is intellectually incapable of reacting properly; he is just not smart enough to do the job.

The supervisor/manager who is weak and can't make decisions at crisis incidents is endangering lives. This weakness is rooted in fear; the fear of failure and the criticism that will follow drives the supervisor/manager to complete inaction, or to doing insignificant tasks that are totally peripheral to the problem at hand. This

leader is virtually hoping that if he does nothing, the problem will resolve itself. In fact, sometimes the problem does resolve itself, an outcome that gives the supervisor a false sense of security for the future.

A supervisor may manifest positional fear in numerous ways. He may, for example, do one or more of the following:

- Delegate upwards.
- Direct anger, usually toward subordinates at the scene, and manage little or no supervisory action against the problem.
- Exhibit a "low profile" syndrome and hope that if he does nothing, the problem may go away.
- Change agency response practices that have been carefully weighed and put in place for such emergencies; for example, he may order the altering of equipment, response, or chains of command.
- Underdeploy a situation obviously requiring more, not less, law enforcement officers.
- "Disappear" at the most critical times in a crisis.

Law enforcement must prepare agency leadership to respond capably to crisis incidents. Presently the selection process is not always geared to determining a supervisor's ability to command in a crisis. Generally the selection process only measures the supervisor's ability to manage the day-to-day functions of the agency. Selection processes must be developed to test the candidate's ability to cope in crisis situations. Well-designed assessment centers can go a long way in achieving the identification of capable leaders for crisis situations. More practice and training to aid in building confidence, provided by leaders who have themselves been successful crisis managers, will be of great value.

Psychological Fear

Psychological fear is best described as being confronted with a situation that is not life-threatening, but where the circumstances

actually terrorize the officer. The officer is affected to the point of absolute system overload, and he reacts unreasonably. Several factors can cause this to happen:

- Unusually large numbers of people;
- High noise levels, such as those heard during a loud demonstration;
- Police presence that is small or insignificant, causing the officer to feel a heightened sense of vulnerability.

This type of fear is present in many situations: the first time a person gives a speech to a large group; the first time an athlete performs in front of a crowd; or the first time a musician performs in front of a huge audience. The fear experienced during these and similar circumstances can cause a well-prepared, practiced individual to perform poorly. Why, then, is it a surprise to us when an incident such as a major demonstration, evokes a violent response by a police officer? Kent State University's tragedy is a classic example of a few people feeling threatened by a large, noisy crowd and reacting out of fear.

There are some strong indicators that a police officer is being overwhelmed psychologically:

- He has not exerted any physical activity; he is sweaty, pale, and often speechless.
- He does not hear orders or instructions given to him because he is totally focused on the activity to the exclusion of everything else around him.
- He exhibits wild overreaction followed by total inaction.

The most common forums for this type of fear are civil disturbances and street riot situations. Those who are conspiring to cause police overreaction know this and will work to create problems to further their own interests.

Only extensive training, strong supervision, discipline, and a high supervisor-to-officer ratio discipline can create a solution to this particular fear problem.

Fear of Peer Disapproval

Law enforcement is unique to other occupations in several areas. Quite possibly the issue of peer approval is one of those areas. The very nature of the work law enforcement officers perform can create strong desires or goals, some of which are positive. Fear of peer disapproval, a negative outcome of the officer's natural desire to be highly regarded by his fellow officers, must be understood and handled. To some officers, peer approval can come before reverence for the law and respect for the truth.

Certainly, what our peers think of us is important to us, and is a fair gauge by which we can evaluate performance. The police profession values peer opinion by virtue of the fact that officers must depend upon each other in critical situations, during times of confusion and threat of physical harm and, yes, even death. This can cause some officers to lose sight of other priorities, such as law and truth, while becoming obsessed with peer approval.

The need for approval from the officer's peers creates a pressure or stress never intended by the agency, its management or, for that matter, the officer himself. If not recognized and controlled by good supervision, the officer can go to dangerous extremes to achieve approval. The officer can actually go into the field each day, hoping and looking for a shooting situation to prove that he has met what he perceives as the ultimate test: a deadly force confrontation he has survived and in which he performed heroically.

The officer with this problem will actually provoke an incident to happen, to the point that a shooting can result, one that was not necessary and should not have occurred. The irony is that this officer who places so much importance on peer opinion is now viewed by his peers as exactly the opposite of what he wanted them to think of him.

The following are some indications that an officer may have this problem:

- He seeks approval through theatrics rather than quality police work.
- He "talks" better arrests than he makes. He exaggerates or lies about his past and present actions.
- He exhibits an anti-supervisor attitude and sees supervisors as inhibitors of aggressive police work.
- He behaves as a roll-call lawyer; in a crowd of officers, he is very authoritative, but without other officers present is very reserved in actions as well as work productivity.
- He is immature in his approach to the job and cannot accept well-intended constructive criticism when he is taken aside and counselled by a peer or supervisor.
- *He uses excessive force.* He wants to appear tough and capable.

FEAR AND THE SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

The various types of fear that have been discussed are real; they do exist. Of the 673 law enforcement persons that were presented this material, not one disagreed with the existence of any of the fear categories presented. When asked if they knew of officers that exhibited these fears, all 673 acknowledged that they did know of such officers and/or such occurrences. The same group was asked to add to the list of fears. The one most often mentioned was the fear to use force, especially deadly force, due to the media's and the community's overpowering criticism to a previous deadly force incident. This disapproval placed pressure on officers not to use deadly force when it was obviously necessary. This problem does exist and should, in the opinion of the author, be placed in the "Fear to do Harm" category and discussed within the context of that category.

The solution for controlling fear is at hand. One solution is the obvious willingness to discuss the problem.

(1) *Discussion of Fear:*

The honest discussion of fear will let those who are presently harboring one or more of these fears know that supervision and (it is to be hoped) their peers are looking at them. This open exchange will encourage the troubled officers to come forth and express the problem when they understand that they are not alone in being fearful.

(2) *Improving Selection through Better Selection Test Instruments:*
Presently agencies are using psychological testing instruments, in addition to the MMPI, to improve the selection process. More needs to be done in the area of testing.

(3) *Better Training:*

The best opportunity to address the problem of fear is *before* the officer is involved; that is, in the police academy environment. Classes on fear should be taught. Scenarios should be developed to induce fear in a safe training environment. When police candidates exhibit an inability to handle stress in the academy, they should be dismissed so as not to be exposed to the law enforcement world of stress where they could fail and shoot an innocent person.

(4) *Supervision and Personnel Maintenance:*

Field Training Officers (FTOs) and sergeants are absolutely crucial to address the problem of fear in field officers. They must react to the symptoms identified earlier and stop a problem before it starts. Taking this proactive approach may save the life of the police officer, another officer, or a citizen. Doing something as simple as taking a young officer aside and, eyeball-to-eyeball, confronting the officer with his observations may save this officer's job and career. He does not need to "burn" an officer on paper in order to solve a problem if the FTO or sergeant acts firmly and early enough. Supervisors must be willing to supervise, and management willing to support first-line supervision. When a problem

officer is observed doing something wrong, action from a supervisor must be mandatory or the problem will grow. If the supervisors understand all aspects of fear, it is more likely that they will react appropriately to what they see, and not dismiss what they observe as an act based upon youth and inexperience.

(5) *Develop an Individual Self-Assessment System:*

Officers are given rules, laws, policies, and training to guide them to the proper course of action in confronting a multitude of incidents. Most officers are dedicated to meeting these standards. But time, occupational frustrations, and cynicism, as well as fear, can have a negative effect on an officer.

The officer can develop his own self-assessment system early in his career and use it to evaluate his job performance, tactics, and attitudes on a constant basis. After a citizen contact is completed, the officer can mentally run through everything that occurred during the contact. Then he evaluates his tactics, his approach, his presence in terms of controlling the contact, his demeanor and personal feelings and emotions during the contact, a review of his conversational patterns, and most importantly, a review of his emotional levels throughout the contact. This self-evaluation, if done honestly and immediately after an incident, can alert us to our own problems. We know when we are scared, sometimes when no one else knows. Self-evaluation may identify a problem and initiate search for help.

(6) *Early Race and Cultural Awareness Training:*

This training should be from a practical perspective to *begin* to create an understanding in the minds of young police candidates that they may encounter these earlier discussed emotions and feelings, and when they do, how to correct them. A number of sources of assistance for this type of training are available to an agency if assistance is needed. One such agency is the Department of Justice Community Relations Service in the area the agency is located. They have trained personnel who can assist in this endeavor.

Undoubtedly, the subject of fear must be viewed as a concern of law enforcement if we are to expand upon the work that is contained in this document. Research that identifies more exactly police-related fear and how to deal with it can save lives, reputations of law enforcement officers, chiefs of police, and law enforcement agencies, and resolve to some degree the concerns the community has about the police.

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Part 3

The Climate of Fear in Law Enforcement

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Among law enforcement officials, no more compelling issue exists than the use of deadly force by police officers. Many experts agree that whenever a deadly force situation arises within a community, many divergent views focus on the justification of the officer, the impact of his actions on the community and the victim's family, and the administrative "headache" that occurs whenever an officer uses deadly force. Within this specific issue (deadly force by police officers) has evolved a "climate of fear" with which the organization, the administrators, and the officers themselves attempt to deal. What seems to transpire is the fostering of this climate of fear. Some of the factors that contribute to its existence will be discussed here.

When one talks about the use of deadly force by police, there is little time to reflect and decide what corrective measures should be taken to prevent such an occurrence. In a community where a police officer has killed someone, there is an immediate outcry for action. Public policy makers do not have the luxury of waiting for systematic data or tactical advances before making a decision. Some scholars, such as William Geller (1987) of the American Bar Association, have written articles addressing the deadly force issue and the emotion and fear transmitted to the police. This emotion is generated by all concerned, and the fear manifests itself in the reactions of the community and the police as they attempt to deal with this issue.

Instructors at state-sanctioned training academies teach a matrix of force — a progression of what degree of force is needed to stabilize a situation — which each officer is expected to use. It is hoped that this matrix is instilled in the officer as early as during training school; however, this training is done under a controlled environment, and the trainee has no way of anticipating his reactions

and the strength of his assailant in an actual incident in the field. No one can project how the officer will respond. The officer, maybe for the first time in his life, will be exposed to force, possibly a life-threatening situation. His actions will be scrutinized and judged according to the department's manual of operating procedures. As Malcolm Sparrow (1988), writing on perspectives in policing, explains, "There is little time to think or to have ideas ... Most of the day is taken up just trying not to make mistakes."

This statement illustrates the potential problem of reactionary thinking an officer may have, especially when he encounters a forceful situation. My hypothesis is that this instills a fear factor in the officer who must be fearful not only of the general public when he encounters force but also of the ramifications he may face. Many thoughts and feelings come to his mind: Am I following the operating manual? What did my training indicate is an adequate response to this situation? How will I be judged by my peers? Disciplinary hearings will surely focus on the operating manuals and the statutory law when an officer becomes involved in this type of decision making. While Geller and others advocate that most deadly force shootings result in public acceptance, some suggest that little attention is paid to the attitudes and reactions of the officers involved. An ethos of "staying out of trouble "may develop, whereby the officer's resourcefulness and initiative are stifled by the incident (Kelling, 1988). In short, the department as a whole suffers by this manifestation of fear.

Within the administrative aspect of law enforcement is an implicit statement, a reactionary one at best, on the use of force, especially deadly force. Departments, in conjunction with prosecutors and training institutions, develop model policies addressing the use of force. These policies are hammered home by the trainers in an attempt to develop the proper response in the officer. Many trainers will privately advise that part of any deadly force scenario training involves the attitude that when an officer pulls the trigger in a force situation, his life is changed forever. Moreover, law enforcement administrators listed line of duty/crisis situations, such as deadly force incidents, as among those factors of police work that cause chronic stress reaction (Swanson, 1983). An officer is trained to

understand, and rightly so, that the use of his revolver is the most serious action of his police career. When this officer is attempting to enter a residence where a person is reported to be inside with a gun, he will be conscious of many of the factors mentioned above. This, in and by itself, causes a fear factor separate from the immediate fear of his being shot by the perpetrator.

Finally, I wish to submit that the court system and litigations have virtually thrown a monkey wrench into the mental makeup of the police officer. Call and Slesnick (1983), writing on the legal aspects of police administration, state that suits against officers and departments for inadequate or lack of training with firearms are becoming more successful. Furthermore, there has been an increase in suits involving supervisory decision making. These facts indicate a problem within the system — a problem that contributes to the manifestation of the fear aspect among police officers.

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Part 4

The Fear Factor in Law Enforcement

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Recognizing and coping with the fear that recruits, as well as veteran officers, experience is the shared responsibility of peers, supervisors, and managers.

When properly managed, fear is not an enemy. Fear focuses our attentions, heightens our awareness, and triggers physiological preparedness. When misunderstood or ignored, fear distorts our perceptions, exaggerates our stereotypes, and stains our prejudices.

In use-of-force situations, fear might exist as a motivating factor, a debilitating factor, or an element that impels overreaction. Understanding the dimensions of fear is an essential part of growth, development, and the survival of deadly encounters.

The reality of the law enforcement industry is that dangerous and extremely fearful events occur continually. The baseline perspective is that while an officer might be surprised *when* an incident occurs, he cannot afford to be surprised *that* it happens. Too often, recruits entering the profession without a foundation of life experiences are perceived as being naive or overreactive. The sad truth of the matter is that many younger officers have not had the benefit of having experienced the fear and the pain that is so inseparable from the business of living in an imperfect world.

Peers, trainers, and supervisors must be watchful for the officer whose fear is out of proportion to the event; for example, when an officer's fear of any injury from a fist fight looms as the primary justification for the immediate use of deadly force.

Officers must be *taught* that fear is normal, fear is manageable, fear is useful. It is a grave disservice to the police profession to deny fear and to avoid dealing with it. Fear runs the gamut of emotions as transient as "butterflies" to illnesses as chronic as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Becoming afraid is normal; staying afraid is debilitating.

All officers must be trained to recognize fear — to ask themselves, "What are these fears telling me? What am I trying to avoid? What is it that I am really afraid of?" In my experience, it is unusual to find the cop who is not willing to take the risks inherent in arresting dangerous felons. Conversely, it is not unusual to see that same officer becoming fearful of a far less dangerous encounter, such as confronting a fellow officer.

Many of our fears are summarized by "D" words:

Death: Calculated, intelligent risk taking is the name of the game in law enforcement. Death may be accidental, unpreventable, and uninvited.

Dying: Lingering death is not unique to the law enforcement community. Fellow officers, family members, and victims of accidents or crimes all touch our lives. Research your health insurance coverage thoroughly.

Disability: Financially, disability may be more devastating than death. Eat right, exercise, and take care of yourself. Statistically, the odds of becoming permanently disabled from an accident or illness prior to the age of 55 is much higher than the likelihood of dying. Know what Worker's Compensation will do and have your own disability income plan.

Dishonor/Disgrace: You must do what you do because it is important to you and because it is the right thing to do. Be able to look at yourself in the mirror and live with your decisions.

Dread: Don't go through a career hoping that the unthinkable will never happen, or that when it does, it will never happen again. Train, practice, and prepare for contingencies.

Discipline: "Will they back me up? Will they hang me on a technicality?" Know the policies of your agency. Ask the "what ifs" before they happen. Demand answers, accountability, and direction.

Despair: You alone are responsible for your attitudes and your beliefs. All is not lost unless you have lost it. Don't give up — change your plan.

Denial: Don't ignore your fears or your vulnerable areas. Confront them, use them, build upon them.

Defeat: Have a plan. Practice, practice, practice. Develop your physical, emotional, and intellectual dimensions. Pain, set-backs, and mistakes are as critical to growth as are successes. Cultivate the will to fight back.

Your fears can be useful in revealing your weaknesses, your vulnerable areas, your stereotypes, and your prejudices. Acknowledge that these factors exist, confront them, and then use those insights to direct your own development and behavior. You may discover that your fears exist for very good reasons and that it is not necessary or wise to discard them completely.

If fear helps you to anticipate, prepare for, or react appropriately to a dangerous situation, then that fear is useful. If, however, that fear prevents you from sensing that you ought to take action, allows you to avoid ever dealing with the event, or gives you license to overreact, then you are permitting the fear to control you.

Being in fear of your own life or fearing that someone else's life is at risk is a necessary element in justifying the use of deadly force. The legal and moral perspectives of "reasonableness of actions" encompass the fear that a reasonable man would have experienced; the officer's ability to express that fear through testimony and reports; the anticipation or recognition of the threat; and the

officer's training, experience, and options that all play together in the arena of fear.

In my opinion, the only variation of the fear theme that is absolutely intolerable in police work is that of cowardice. Cowardice is not being so afraid or so traumatized that an officer is unable to act. Cowardice is not being overwhelmed by fear. Cowardice is the conscious choice of turning one's back on a situation at someone else's expense — a deliberate unwillingness to take a calculated risk. Driving in the opposite direction of a call, not answering the radio, always being the last unit on the scene — these actions might indicate that the fear factor is being manipulated to a perverse extent.

All officers need to come to grips with the various dimensions of fear. In use-of-force confrontations, it is critical that fear be augmented with competence and confidence. As managers, we must develop methods of recruitment and deal with fears to produce better law enforcement officers and better human beings.

Scott Mattison, a 15-year veteran of law enforcement, is recognized for his teaching and training abilities in the areas of firearms, use of force, and tactical response. Recently an instructor for the Deadly Force Training workshops conducted by the Bureau of Justice Assistance and the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Mattison's focus is representing the perspective of small law enforcement agencies. He is currently pursuing a master's degree in management at Metropolitan State University in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Part 5

Fear of Fear Itself

James Janik, Psy.D

The following story was related by a police officer who was evaluated for his fitness for duty. He contended that he was unable to return to full active duty due to his concern that he might "freeze up" during an emergency and be unable to provide suitable back-up for another officer.

It all happened while I was off duty. I was going shopping, and while I was looking for a parking space, I saw this guy with a gun grabbing this lady's purse. I got out of my car and ran over there. I came up behind him, and he turned to run and ran right into me; we struggled. It was a hell of a struggle, and I have to say that I respected the fight he put up. He wrestled away from me and stood up and pointed his gun at me. I looked at the gun a long time and then I looked at him; I realized that he did not want to fire. I thought he was treating me like a [black] brother and I respected him for that, but then I looked at him again and he looked real, real scared and I knew I had him. I raised my gun and, as I did, he fired and I was hit in the face. I fired back almost immediately and I got him. I do not know why he did not fire a second time. I do not know if his gun froze up or he did. In a couple of seconds, people started responding, and I realized that I had wet myself. It was real embarrassing, but someone told me that it is an involuntary action when you get shot, from the adrenalin or something, but it was real embarrassing. Then I started thinking about how much I hurt and all the damn paperwork that I was going to have to fill out because of that jerk, and I cursed at him for making me shoot him. Anyway, they took me to the hospital right away after that and, after I got better, the superintendent [of police] pinned a medal on my chest. I remember telling the superintendent that I kept

having these dreams about looking at the gun and that guy's face, and he told me not to rush it and that I did not have to go back on the street unless I wanted to. My supervisor told me not to come back 'til I was ready for the street and he asked me if I thought I'd ever be okay. Since then [five years], I have been working in the fingerprint section, but now they want to put me back on the street and the superintendent is long gone. No one remembers saying that I didn't have to go back on the street unless I wanted to, and I don't want to.

The first thing that is striking about this officer's story is the absence of any admission of fear on his part. He reports wrestling with an armed perpetrator, staring at the barrel of the armed robber's weapon and even physiologically experiencing involuntary urination; yet he does not admit feeling fearful — an understandable, if not expected, emotion under the circumstances. What factors could be propelling this police officer from admitting to feeling fearful?

Next, it is striking that the officer speaks of having respect for the perpetrator's physical prowess during the struggle and for his having the potential to fire at the officer but not doing so. Interestingly, the officer used the word "respect" in two very different ways. He both "respected" the perpetrator's physical stamina (just as one would respect any positive trait or skill) as well as his capacity to hurt the officer seriously (just as one would respect a dangerous thing or animal). Yet, whether he used the word "respect" to denote admiration or caution, he reported that his feeling toward the perpetrator changed drastically after recognizing a look of feeling "scared" on his face. He said he then felt dominative over the perpetrator and "I knew I had him." In fact, his feeling toward the perpetrator appeared to become one of disdain, if not hate, following the recognition of that perceived vulnerability. Does this reflect the officer's feeling toward himself after his own experience of fearfulness? It is of interest that his nightmares focus upon the dual images of a gun barrel and a fearful face — perhaps the two things he feared most in the incident.

This officer was not psychologically debriefed after the incident, and further, he allegedly received the message from his superintendent that there was no expectation that he would be returning to his previous level of functioning. Fellow officers not only rationalized his fear (manifested by his urinating on himself) by telling him it was "from the adrenalin," but also did not provide him with the hope and positive expectation that he would not be permanently impaired by his traumatic experience. This officer, after entering into a conspiracy of silence with his supervisors and fellow workers about his fearfulness, now felt betrayed that they expected him to function at his previous level of performance — a level that, he felt, they had not prepared him to assume. He felt "trapped" between wishing to be genuine to his own emotions and conforming to the expectation of others. This inner conflict might have been prevented or altered by a number of simple techniques, such as critical incident debriefing, during which he would have been encouraged to face his own fearfulness.

FEAR: THE ORPHAN EMOTION

In my experience of conducting many hundreds of fitness-for-duty evaluations for municipal, county, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, the following statements have been offered by officers as reasons why they do not verbalize their feelings of fearfulness.

1. "I Was Told Fear Is Bad, But I Feel Good."

Many combat veterans have endorsed the following statement of a Vietnam infantryman who later became a police officer:

The only time I felt alive was in the bush, putting it all on the line with my buddies. If you made a mistake, you are dead; the winners stayed alive, like in Russian roulette. I never felt so focused. There were no distractions, no extraneous stimuli — only what was going on in front of me. I know it is perverse, but I came to look forward to the stimulation.

It is commonplace for individuals to use many devices to raise and lower their levels of autonomic nervous system arousal. Some under-aroused individuals simulate situations of danger (such as riding a roller coaster), and some truly put themselves in physical danger (becoming employed in a high-risk occupation). Others who feel over-aroused manage their internal states with relaxation, vacations, and in extreme cases, with drugs and alcohol. Stimulation-seeking or avoidance can serve as a defense against disturbing inner thoughts and feelings in order to seek an equilibrium with outside demands. A fearful situation, through its associated visceral stimulation of the autonomic nervous system, can become a tool to manage one's level of arousal. Fearful stimulation, then, is not experienced as something negative, and just as any compensatory mechanism, it can become habitual, if not addicting.

A positive aspect of fearful situations often cited by individuals is clarity of thought. This experience may be the result of an hormonally influenced phenomena, or it may result from an evolutionary advantage of humans to think clearly in dangerous situations. Whatever the case, just as a cave man is advantaged by fleeing from a saber-tooth tiger — rather than unnecessarily wondering what it is doing there or when it last ate — a police officer is advantaged by being able to think clearly, discern quickly which individuals in a situation are potentially harmful, and take defensive action.

Dangerous situations can simplify legal subtleties and life's complexities, and can lead to feelings that there are only "good guys and bad guys" or only "us and them." This simple, dichotomous thinking is attractive to a person who feels overwhelmed by complex, and sometimes conflicting, legal, or political nuances. It offers him a confident, if not righteous, reassurance that he has "a handle" on what is right and wrong. Tedious administrative and bureaucratic requirements pale in front of life-and-death situations which can give an insecure or inferior-feeling individual a sense of importance and meaning that he cannot find in other areas of his life.

Thus, either for physiological or cognitive reasons, an individual may not only experience fear benignly but find it rewarding and desire its side effects of arousal, clarity of thought,

and meaningfulness. This process can become compensatory for areas in his life where he is less effective and can assure him of "times and places when I will be taken seriously."

2. "We Don't Call It Fear."

Usually as children, humans learn to attach verbal labels and to differentiate among various emotional states by comparing their internal visceral reactions to those of other people. One must not only experience various intensities of fear, anger, or happiness but also attach to them names understood by other individuals. However, for many reasons, emotions can be mislabeled. Fear, for example, could be labeled as excitement or anticipation. One is apt to be less distressed and more actively looking for solutions if a "problem" is relabeled as a "challenge." Thus, police officers are very apt to look to fellow officers to label and put in context the inner realities they experience, and they are inclined to accept fellow workers' explanations for what they are experiencing.

Public safety personnel will especially look to each other to define what is "normal in abnormal circumstances." Denial of the emotion of fear is quite consistent with the denial of muscle tension, fatigue, and confusion, and with a "macho" image which many find necessary to adopt when they are asked to work beyond their normal endurance limits. If an officer has not labeled his own experience as "fearful," or even as negative or abnormal, he must rely only on the labeling of other officers whose collective norms and realities may be distorted by their cloistered self-support and withdrawal from others (police detractors) who "do not understand us." An officer in that situation may be unaware that his attempts to manage, control, and master his fears may have left him emotionally unresponsive to others and, perhaps, inclined to deaden those inner realities with alcohol or drugs because he has no label or explanation for them.

Further inhibiting the admission of fear is the anxiety that such a disclosure will make a person appear weak and insignificant to fellow officers. Often feeling unrespected by supervisors, the courts, and the public, an officer will strive to win his co-workers'

respect and admiration. He wishes to be seen by his peers as a "stand-up guy," ready to back up other officers in danger and refusing to contribute to the loss of a fellow officer's life by fearfully "freezing up." Also, the paramilitary structure and the need for subordinates to "follow orders without questions" especially incline a supervisor to deny his fear, lest his subordinates lose faith in his ability to command. Such a loss would not only diminish his ability to persuade subordinates to work harder and longer but also impair his power and influence to direct those officers' actions. In fact, as one moves up the chain of command in public safety personnel, the more a supervisor is expected to stoically allocate scarce resources; coordinate the personnel of agencies who before now may not have worked together; monitor the efficiency of his own efforts; make, in the face of administrative burdens, critical decisions that could jeopardize the safety of personnel; yet never take the time to deal with his own feelings of fear, inadequacy and, perhaps, even guilt for his lack of preparedness.

3. "Fear Makes You Weak. I Am Tough."

Usually a public safety worker has prepared for his position with many years of physical and academic training. He has, since his tender years, often identified with the professional standards and aspirations of police officers that, ironically, may have inclined him to deny his fear because of lofty aspirations to standards that are higher than he can personally fulfill. For example, Laube (1973), wrote that a nurse once told him, "I would never let my patients see that I was frightened. When I am working, I have to keep myself calmer than I would in any other circumstances." In fact, by knowing the demands of public safety work, an individual may be attracted to it because of strong beliefs in his own competence, if not due to illusions and delusions about his own personal invulnerability. There is even evidence that, rather than confronting and discounting such irrational invulnerability, a dangerous situation may, in fact, worsen it. For example, Krystal (1971) noted that a phenomena common among concentration camps survivors was a tendency to regress to infantile, omnipotent, magical thinking that they somehow had superhuman attributes and even a sixth sense. Also, Terr (1983) reported that, out of the 11 children in the Chowchilla bus burial, 10

believed that they had a dream or an omen of the disaster to forewarn them, a "sign" that they did not heed. Terr's interpretation of this phenomena was that they needed to distort the reality of the event in order to deny their own feelings of profound helplessness. Of course, the possession of such super-human characteristics presumes a consequential feeling of guilt and self-blame for being unable to control any negative turn arisen in the situation or taken by themselves. Such guilt and self-blame is well documented among public safety workers in critical incidents (Williams, 1987) as well as the frequent communication that one's survival has somehow cheated someone else out of living, as if an officer could know what was destiny's quota for victims. Thus, even expected and anticipated fear-provoking situations can incline a public safety worker to feel superior to others.

In any event, an officer is not apt to admit to fear if he believes it will make him appear weak or inferior to himself or others. In general, people are disinclined to think badly about themselves, especially more so when an officer may feel that his life may depend upon his "competent and in-charge" presentation to potentially dangerous perpetrators. This tendency to appear strong and capable is even more exaggerated in the presence of stronger-than-normal anxieties that could threaten one's ego, integrity, and even self-identification — anxieties that can develop from the extraordinary experiences of an officer. He may anticipate that the strong feeling of fear, if unleashed, could wash out his own fragile and ungrounded sense of self; this leaves him confused, without internal direction, and more dependent on the (perhaps distorted) consensus of his fellow workers.

4. "I May Feel Fear, but I Control and Do Not Show It."

Regarding himself, an officer may believe that if he gives fear an inch, it will overwhelm him, generalize, and spread throughout his life. Regarding others, such an officer may believe that fear is contagious and its admission will destroy morale and impair his fellow officers' efficiency. Ironically, through his use of complicated cognitive mechanisms to manage his experiences of fear, he reifies it and makes its experience even more powerful whenever it is felt,

thereby creating a recipe for a self-fulfilling prophecy of deterioration under the experience of fear. It is no wonder that such an individual fears and anticipates that he would lose his identity in flights of panic if he recognized experiences of fear within himself. He may, in fact, believe that this vulnerability reflects his potential for becoming "crazy," a state he fears more than fear itself and for which he will take all steps to avoid. He is apt to feel helpless over his situation and imagine nothing can be done for him. Further, because of his inclinations to be rigidly self-reliant, even if his fears could be faced and deflated in importance, he would be disinclined to seek help and then be obliged or indebted to someone, especially a co-worker.

This individual is particularly opinionated about the expressions of fear by other officers. He is apt to comment that the concerns of such officers — concerns perhaps more appropriately directed toward himself — are indicative of the other officers' potential inability to provide adequate back-up. He is also apt to act counterphobically and to engage in unnecessary, high-risk, and dangerous behavior because he believes that only he is strong enough to do so, and others will be impaired by the same emotions he himself denies. Jones (1985), for example, noted that some physicians, out of an overwhelming sense of urgency, unwisely sutured minor wounds under unsterile conditions rather than trust other workers to care for them. Such an individual, in fact, may find expression for his fear in unnecessary rage and ranting when he believes that a fellow worker or an agency may have taken inadequate measure to address a crisis. This behavior betrays a belief that fear must be controlled and denied, not only in himself, but in those around them.

5. "There Are More Important Things Going On Than My Indulging Myself in My Own Personal Fears."

An individual may manage his fear by redirecting and disguising it. He reveals that he "doesn't fear for myself, but I fear for the victims who are worse off than I am. I just put my fear out of my mind. Besides, even if I indulge myself in my own fears, what would it gain me; I would still have to address the situation at hand."

On the face of it, this could be a reasonable position, except for the belief that he is not entitled or allowed to feel fear unless he "indulges" himself in it, as he would any trivial pleasure or whim.

In the extreme, such a position may betray beliefs of personal invulnerability, as discussed above. In less extreme cases, it may also reflect a temporary equilibrium and adjustment to a self-realized minor erosion of his capacity because of circumstances based perhaps upon unsubstantiated and Pollyannish beliefs that the situation will improve. This individual is not "stress-hardy." While he may be able to meet his role obligations in the present circumstances, he can continue to do so only if this role is well-defined and he is well-prepared for what will next occur. Such an individual is likely to attend selectively to stimuli in his environment, thus allowing him to function within a narrow bond of events and circumstances. He is inflexible and unprepared for deteriorations or unexpected changes in events. This position, often the first line of retreat for an officer who is inclined to deny his fear, may not by itself represent a serious compromise of the officer's efficiency, as long as the situation remains constant. If dangerous situations deteriorate or become long-lasting, such an officer is a prime candidate for acute impairment; he should always be referred to a critical stress group where he can be defused and debriefed about his fearful experiences.

6. "The Public Expects Us To Be Strong."

The lameness of this position reflects the lack of insight and self-reflection of the individual who espouses it. It reveals the immature and reflective adoption of "pop" and simplistic social norms that this individual finds mirrored in television and detective literature, in which public safety protagonists are John Wayne-super hero types rather than average human beings with weaknesses as well as strengths. When such an insupportable position is confronted, an individual inclined to deny fear habitually is likely to espouse one of the other articulated beliefs that indicate a more deeply centered characterological or neurotic position. We all strive to match our and others' definitions of the social roles we adopt. However, to claim that others expect a person to adopt a one-

dimensional, idealized role that excludes a recognition and development of weakness can only reflect a neurotic need served by a distortion of reality.

TREATMENT ISSUES IN THE DENIAL OF FEAR

Without question, the preferable way to address this problem is prophylactically, before a problem occurs. It is important to provide pre-incident education and allow discussion on the mechanics of the human body's responses to stress and the probable visceral experiences of officers. Expected or "normal" acute symptoms experienced in response to extraordinary circumstances should be enumerated. Peer group discussions led by experienced, "well-adjusted" public safety workers, who can model the mature recognition of job-related fears and the admission of "fear of fear itself," can appreciably raise the consciousness of new employees before they adopt the potentially less helpful attitudes of peers. Fear inoculation techniques by these experienced peers would also be helpful to ameliorate a diminishment of job effectiveness in fear-provoking situations. Even during a fearful situation, briefly talking about one's thoughts and feelings about fears might be useful, especially if the situation is prolonged.

After a critical incident, severe fear and panic reactions are most often acutely treated with crisis interventions and/or medications. If the source of the fear has not been generalized and is isolated to one or two stimuli, behavioral desynthesization techniques may be very effective. This is true, especially if the conditioning of the responses to a stimulus was learned in one or two powerful, emotional experiences that have not been socially reinforced by an officer's being compensated for taking on a "patient role" or by his accepting a social definition of being less competent. The longer lasting the fear — the more it has been denied, and the more it has become enmeshed with self-esteem, role responsibilities, and one's identity — the more difficult it is to address the fear with this approach.

Psychotherapy is the ultimate address to chronic difficulties in recognizing and accepting one's own fears. The individual intricacies involved in formulating and framing the issues that need to be addressed in order to make such therapy effective are too complex to discuss within limits of this paper. It is complicated to establish a strong enough therapeutic alliance to facilitate a client's facing and contemplating, if not confronting, his fears. However, there can be no substitute for the reintegration and repositioning to previous levels of adjustment, and the resiliency and confidence that would come from psychotherapeutic efforts. Such endeavors require considerable inventory taking and self-assessment to acquire the necessary insight and self-realization to benefit from the experience. It is an undertaking that is often taxing in itself -- not easily committed to and not rapidly accomplished -- yet one that guarantees personal growth, potential, and strength.

Perhaps a way to conceptualize fear in an officer's life so that it may be used to stimulate a potential for growth and development is one reflected by Frank Herbert (1965) in his classic volume *Dune*. He had characters who faced intense fear recite the following to garner strength and self-acceptance:

I must not fear. Fear is the mind killer. Fear is the little death that brings total obliteration. I will face my fear. I will permit it to pass over me, through me, and when it is gone, I will turn the inner eye and see its path. Where fear has gone, there will be nothing. Only I will remain.

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